

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1323
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMCONSUL MUNICH
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUCHAREST 6080/1

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CH, RO
SUBJECT: ASSESSMENT OF HUA KUO-FENG VISIT

1. SUMMARY: ALTHOUGH PRINCIPAL INTEREST IN HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL
HUA VISIT HERE WAS ITS INTERNATIONAL IMPLICATIONS, ROMANIANS
HAVE BEEN CAREFUL TO DISCUSS IT ONLY IN TERMS OF BILATERAL
RELATIONS WHICH TOOK A QUANTUM LEAP FORWARD. VISIT WAS CARE-
FULLY PREPARED AND FAULTLESSLY EXECUTED, WITH NO UNTOWARD
INCIDENTS OR EMBARRASING MOMENTS FOR EITHER SIDE, THEREBY
PROVIDING THE SOVIETS LITTLE CONCRETE WITH WHICH TO BERATE
ROMANIANS. HUA VISIT IS BOTH A PERSONAL DIPLOMATIC TRIUMPH
FOR CEAUSESCU AND A STRONG REAFFIRMATION OF ROMANIAN
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INDEPENDENCE. END SUMMARY.

2. ROMANIAN-CHINESE RELATIONS: HUA VISIT TO ROMANIA
AUGUST 16-21 AND EARLIER CEAUSESCU TRIP TO PEKING GO A
FAIR WAY TOWARD ADDING REAL SUBSTANCE TO THE LONG-STANDING
POLITICAL/SYMBOLIC ROMANIAN-CHINESE RELATIONSHIP. THE LONG-
TERM ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION AGREEMENT, ESTABLISH-

MENT OF A JOINT COMMISSION IN THIS AREA, AND AGREEMENTS ON TECHNICAL-SCIENTIFIC AND PRODUCTION COOPERATION CONSTITUTE A FRAMEWORK IN WHICH THE MAJOR EXPANSION AND DIVERSIFICATION OF THE ALREADY VERY SIGNIFICANT RELATIONS MENTIONED BY THE TWO LEADERS CAN TAKE PLACE. WHILE CONCRETE RESULTS MAY NOT BE APPARENT FOR SOME TIME, INTENT OF BOTH SIDES IS CRYSTAL CLEAR. THE PROTOCOL ON LIVING AND WORKING CONDITIONS FOR EXCHANGES IS ALSO A TIPOFF THAT WE CAN EXPECT A SUBSTANTIALLY LARGER AND MORE VISIBLE CHINESE PRESENCE HERE THAN HAS BEEN TRUE IN THE PAST. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR QUOTES HIS CHINESE COLLEAGUE AS INDICATING THAT BOTH GOVERNMENTS HAVE FORMALLY APPROVED AGREEMENT TO OPEN CONSULATES BUT THAT CHINESE HAVE IN MIND "ONLY A SMALL ESTABLISHMENT IN CONSTANTA," WITH NO DEFINITE DATE FOR OPENING. MEANWHILE, THE PRESENT ACTIVE INTERCHANGES OF DELEGATIONS IN ALL FIELDS WILL CONTINUE AND, UNDER RUBRIC OF "EXCHANGES OF EXPERIENCE", WILL LIKELY BE MORE EXTENSIVE IN CULTURAL, ACADEMIC, AND MEDIA FIELDS.

3. ALL OF THIS DOES NOT IN ANY WAY MEAN THAT ROMANIA IS ABOUT TO SACRIFICE ANY OF ITS HARD-WON RELATIVE AUTONOMY FROM THE SOVIET UNION IN ORDER TO BECOME A CHINESE VASSALAGE, EITHER IN FACT OR IN APPEARANCE. ROMANIA'S BASIC INTEREST IN CHINA CONTINUES TO BE AS A PARTIAL BALANCE TO SOVIET POWER AND INFLUENCE; IMPLICATION OF HUA VISIT IS THAT CHINA WILL SIMPLY NOW WEIGH HEAVIER IN THE SCALES. NOR DOES CHINA SEEM INTERESTED IN ACQUIRING A NEW EASTERN

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EUROPEAN CLIENT, EVEN IF THE ROMANIANS WERE WILLING.

4. EFFECT ON SOVIET UNION. REAL IMPORTANCE OF HUA VISIT, OF COURSE, DOES NOT STEM FROM BILATERAL ROMANIAN-CHINESE CONTEXT BUT FROM ITS INTERNATIONAL IMPLICATIONS AND PARTICULARLY ITS EFFECT ON SOVIET UNION. IT WAS THIS THAT BROUGHT THE CORRESPONDENTS FLOCKING TO BUCHAREST. AND, AS THESE CORRESPONDENTS HAVE POINTED OUT, AT THIS LEVEL PRINCIPAL IMPORTANCE OF VISIT WAS JUST THAT IT TOOK PLACE, CLEARLY CONVEYING MESSAGE TO ALL ON-LOOKERS THAT PRC IS NO LONGER SELF-ISOLATED, THAT IT IS LOOKING OUT AND REACHING OUT TO THE WORLD AS A WHOLE, AND THAT NO AREA IS OFF-LIMITS AS A

SPECIAL SOVIET PRESERVE.

5. ROMANIAN PREPARATION FOR VISIT WAS METICULOUS AND POLITICALLY FAULTLESS. CEAUSESCU'S AUGUST 3 SPEECH (BUCHAREST 5470) CLEARLY STATED ROMANIAN POSITION ON MOST PRESSING QUESTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL AND INTERPARTY RELATIONS PRIOR TO MEETING WITH BREZHNEV AND HUA VISIT, THEREBY REMOVING ANY ARGUMENT THAT ONE OR ANOTHER POSITION WAS TAKEN AS RESULT OF SOVIET OR CHINESE PRESSURE. CONSEQUENTLY, HUA

VISIT, THOUGH DISAGREEABLE IN THE EXTREME TO THE SOVIETS, NEVERTHELESS PROVIDED THEM WITH NO UNEXPECTED AND UNPLEASANT SURPRISES. ROMANIANS HAVE BEEN EXTREMELY CAREFUL TO COUCH VISIT EXCLUSIVELY IN BILATERAL TERMS AND HAVE ADAMANTLY REFUSED TO COMMENT PUBLICALLY OR PRIVATELY ON ITS INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS. HUA WAS ALSO CAREFUL NOT TO EMBARRASS HIS HOSTS AND, GIVEN USUAL CHINESE OUTSPOKENESS ON SOVIETS, BOTH HIS WORDS AND HIS ACTIONS HERE WERE MODELS OF RELATIVE RESTRAINT.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUCHAREST 6080/2

HUA'S SCHEDULE WAS EXTREMELY CROWDED, BUT NOWHERE ON IT WAS OPPORTUNITY FOR A PUBLIC SPEECH, PRESS CONFERENCE, OR OTHER PUBLIC PLATFORM. IN FACT, ONLY QUASI-SPEECHES HE MADE WERE THE TWO MANDATORY TOASTS AT THE TWO MANDATORY STATE DINNERS. NOR WAS THERE ANY HUA VISIT TO A MILITARY INSTALLATION (LIKE CEAUSESCU HAD IN CHINA) NOR WAS "MILITARY" MENTIONED AS PART OF THE EXPANDING EXCHANGES. THERE WAS ONLY ONE ANNOUNCED SESSION OF PRIVATE HUA-CEAUSESCU TALKS (ALTHOUGH THERE WERE FOUR ROUNDS OF OFFICIAL TALKS WITH FULL DELEGATIONS PARTICIPATING), AND WE HAVE NO INDICATION THERE WERE OTHER UNPUBLICIZED

MEETINGS. NOR DO WE HAVE ANY INDICATION THAT HUA MET WITH ANY OTHER VISITORS TO ROMANIA AT THE SAME TIME, SUCH AS SANTIAGO CARRILLO, A POINT LOCAL SOVIETS HAVE GRILLED US
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ON INTENSELY ALTHOUGH FINALLY ADMITTING THEY HAD NO INDICATION EITHER THAT SUCH MEETINGS WERE HELD.

6. NET RESULT IS THAT SOVIETS ARE LEFT WITH NOTHING CONCRETE TO GRAB ONTO IN BERATING ROMANIANS AND, AS EMBASSY MOSCOW POINTS OUT (MOSCOW 20076), ARE REDUCED TO SNIDE ATTACKS ON CEAUSESCU FOR THE COMPANY HE KEEPS. NEVERTHELESS, ROMANIANS MAY SEE HUNGARIAN AND POLISH SNIPING IN NATIONAL DAY MESSAGES (BUCHAREST 5952 AND 6140) AS WELL AS RECENT FIRE IN NATIONAL THEATER (BUCHAREST 5935) AS SOVIET INSPIRED. WHILE SOVIETS ARE OBVIOUSLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE BURGEONING ROMANIAN-CHINESE FRIENDSHIP, THE CHINESE SO FAR HAVE BEEN CAREFUL NOT TO TRY TO PUSH THE ROMANIANS TOO FAR TOO FAST, NOR WOULD THE ROMANINS LET THIS HAPPEN ANYWAY. CEAUSESCU IS STILL THE SUPERB JUDGE OF JUST HOW FAR HE CAN SAFELY GO IN BEAR-BAITING, AND HE OBVIOUSLY FEELS QUITE CONFIDENT THAT HE HAS NOT EXCEEDED THIS LIMIT IN HIS RELATIONS WITH THE CHINESE. WE DEFER TO HIS JUDGMENT.

7. IN SUM, THEN, FROM BUCHAREST PERSPECTIVE WE SEE THE SUCCESSFUL HUA VISIT HERE AS A PERSONAL TRIUMPH AND DIPLOMATIC TOUR DE FORCE FOR CEAUSESCU, EFFECT OF WHICH IS TO LEAVE THE SOVIETS IMPOTENTLY SPUTTERING AND TO UNDERLINE AND REINFORCE ROMANIAN INDEPENDENCE.

8. CHAIRMAN HUA AND COMPANY. WE OFFER FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS OF A US AND TWO JAPANESE REPORTERS ON COMPORTMENT OF HUA, AS REQUESTED BY STATE 211451. ALL WERE STRUCK BY HIS HEIGHT, TALLEST IN DELEGATION, ESPECIALLY COMPARED TO THE RATHER DIMINUTIVE CEAUSESCU. HUA SEEMED OBLIVIOUS TO REPORTERS -- NOT HOSTILE, BUT LACKING IN ANY SENSE OF PUBLIC RELATIONS. JAPANESE THOUGHT HE APPEARED NERVOUS,
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BUT AMERICANS DID NOT THINK HE WAS SO MUCH NERVOUS AS UNCOMFORTABLE IN ROLE OF DIPLOMAT. HE SEEMED VERY OBSERVANT AND VERY FORMAL, NOT RELAXING EVEN IN INFORMAL PART OF HIS SCHEDULE ON BLACK SEA COAST. HE WAS NOT AT ALL SPONTANEOUS AND ACTED AS THOUGH EVERYTHING WAS CAREFULLY ORCHESTRATED BEFOREHAND AND HE DID NOT WANT TO MAKE ANY MISTAKES. FOR

EXAMPLE, HE COPIED FROM A PREPARED TEXT (PREVIOUSLY
CLEARED WITH THE ROMANIANS?) ALL OF REMARKS HE INSCRIBED
IN THE VARIOUS GUEST BOOKS OF INSTALLATIONS HE VISITED.
JAPANESE FELT HE WAS COLD AS BEFITS A MAN WHO FOR SIX YEARS
HEADED INTERNAL SECURITY. WE HAVE NOT YET PICKED UP ANY
USEFUL COMMENTS ON ACTIVITIES OF OTHER MEMBERS OF HUA
DELEGATION SUCH AS CHI TENG-KUEI OR CHAO TZU-YANG OR OF
INTERPLAY BETWEEN HUA AND HIS COLLEAGUES. WE NOTE, HOWEVER,
THAT OTHER MEMBERS OF HUA DELEGATION ENGAGED IN NO PUBLICIZED
SEPARATE ACTIVITIES HERE AS THEY DID IN YUGOSLAVIA.
AGGREY

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